

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ATHENS 2390

LIMDIS

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(C O R R E C T E D C O P Y. E.O., TAGS, SUBJ LINES ADDED)
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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, GR, US
SUBJ: WILL THE REAL PAPANDREOU PLEASE STAND UP?

1. FOLLOWING THEIR ELECTORAL SUCCESSES IN
NOVEMBER 1977, ANDREAS PAPANDREOU AND HIS PASOK PARTY

ARE BY MOST ACCOUNTS STILL ON THE ASCENT. FOR THREE YEARS NOW PAPANDREOU HAS BEEN AIMING AT THE POST-CARAMANLIS ERA, POSITIONING HIMSELF TO ASSUME POWER WHEN THE PRIME MINISTER PASSES FROM THE SCENE. TODAY THE ONLY EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE TO CARAMANLIS, HE CONTINUES TO MAKE STEADY PROGRESS TOWARDS THAT GOAL. A GROWING NUMBER OF GREEKS OF ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS BELIEVE IT COULD BE WITHIN HIS REACH BY THE NEXT ELECTIONS (I.E. NO LATER THAN 1981). HE IS NOW MOVING TO BRING IT WITHIN HIS GRASP.

2. PLENTY OF ROOM FOR MANEUVER: PAPANDREOU'S PARTY RECEIVED JUST OVER A QUARTER OF ALL THE VOTES CAST IN THE NOVEMBER 1977 ELECTIONS. HE IS GOING TO HAVE TO ADD CONSIDERABLY TO THAT TOTAL IF HE IS EVER GOING TO BE ELECTED PRIME MINISTER. AND HE IS GOING TO HAVE TO DIS-ABUSE THE GREEK POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT -- AND PARTICULARLY THE GREEK MILITARY -- OF THEIR FEARS THAT HE IS A DANGEROUS RADICAL SO THEY DO NOT BLOCK HIS PATH TO POWER, IF NECESSARY BY UNCONSTITUTIONAL MEANS. THERE ARE FEW REMAINING VOTES FOR PAPANDREOU TO PICK UP ON THE NON-COMMUNIST LEFT AND ANY MOVE TO COURT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD FURTHER ALARM THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE MILITARY. THUS, DOMESTIC POLITICS SEEM TO DICTATE THAT PAPANDREOU MOVE TOWARDS THE CENTER -- AND IN GREECE THERE IS A WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS ALREADY BEGUN SUCH A MOVE.
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3. TRENDY OPPORTUNISM HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN PAPANDREOU'S CAREER TO DATE. AND GREEK POLITICS PLACE FEW RESTRAINTS UPON HIM SINCE IDEOLOGY IS THOUGHT OF AS UNIMPORTANT AND CYNICISM TAKEN FOR GRANTED. FEW GREEKS BELIEVE HIM WHEN HE PROCLAIMED HIS SOCIALISM WAS BUILT ON AN ARAB MODEL. FEW WOULD FIND IT STRANGE SHOULD HE ATTEMPT A TACTICAL JIBE TO THE CENTER. PAPANDREOU HAS FLITTED ACROSS MUCH OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM FROM CENTER TO LEFT SINCE BECOMING ACTIVE IN POLITICS NEARLY FIFTEEN YEARS AGO AFTER HIS RETURN TO GREECE FROM THE UNITED STATES. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL FROM THE MAN'S RECORD, MUCH LESS FROM HIS WORDS, WHAT IF ANY ARE HIS FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS. BUT WHILE WE WAIT FOR THE REAL -- OR THE LATEST -- ANDREAS PAPANDROU TO FINALLY STAND UP, IT IS USEFUL TO DESCRIBE WHERE HE SITS TODAY.

4. PARTY AND LEADER AS ONE: A SUCCESSFUL GREEK POLITICIAN MUST BE A STRONG LEADER AND PAPANDREOU IS NOTHING IF NOT A STRONG, EVEN AUTOCRATIC, LEADER. IN PASOK HE HAS BUILT AN ORGANIZATION THAT IS LESS A POLITICAL PARTY -- WHICH IMPLIES TRANSMISSION OF IDEAS AND INITIATIVES UP

AS WELL AS DOWN THE HIERARCHY -- THAN A VERY SUCCESSFUL
VEHICLE FOR MOBILIZING SUPPORT FOR ITS LEADER, PAPANDREOU.
PASOK AIMS AT BEING A PARTY OF PRINCIPLES AND IDEOLOGY,
WHICH IMPLIES A CERTAIN CONFORMITY IN THE RANKS. BUT AS
ANY PARTY WHICH DRAWS 25 PERCENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE IN PLURAL-
ISTIC GREECE MUST, PASOK INCLUDES A VARIETY OF OPINIONS
AND VIEWS -- RANGING FROM PASOK'S VERY RADICAL YOUNG WING TO
ESSENTIALLY MODERATE OLD-TIME POLITICIANS.

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NEVERTHELESS, BECAUSE PASOK AS A PARTY IS SO DEPENDENT ON
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PAPANDREOU, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT IT CAN IMPOSE ANY DISCIPLINE OR
DIRECTION UPON HIS PERSONALITY. WHAT PAPANDREOU WANTS
PASOK DOES AND IS.

5. TODAY PAPANDREOU WANTS TO ADD, AND IS ADDING, TO PASOK'S
ORGANIZATIONAL SINEW -- POINTING IMMEDIATELY AT THE OCTOBER
15, 1978 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, PAPAN-
DREOU IS ATTEMPTING TO BUILD UP PASOK IN PROFESSIONAL,
STUDENT, AND LABOR GROUPS -- AND IN ELECTIONS THUS FAR
THIS YEAR PASOK HAS RETAINED THE PRESIDENCY OF BOTH THE
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY STUDENT UNION AND THE ATHENS BAR
ASSOCIATION, WHILE GAINING IN SUCH KEY LABOR AREAS AS UNIONS
IN THE PUBLIC UTILITIES FIELD.

6. PAPANDREOU'S PERSONALITY IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE MOST POWER-
FUL WEAPON IN PASOK'S ARMORY. BUT PAPANDREOU HAS FURTHER
STRENGTHENED HIMSELF BY MOLDING A PROGRAM THAT ADDRESSES
ITSELF TO THE DEEP RESENTMENTS THAT RUN DEEP IN THIS
SUPERFICIALLY SUNNY LAND. THOUGH THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO
MISERY, INEQUALITIES OF INCOME AND OF OPPORTUNITY ARE EXPER-
IENCED EVERY DAY BY MOST GREEKS. THIS VEIN OF POPULAR
ANGER HELPED THE COLONELS TO POWER IN 1967 -- AND
PAPANDREOU, WHO POPULARIZED THE CONCEPT OF A "SELFISH
UNRESPONSIVE GREEK ESTABLISHMENT," SUCCESSFULLY PLAYS
UPON POPULIST SENTIMENTS WHEN HE DEMANDS "CHANGE."

7. MUSHY RADICALISM: PASOK AS ITS NAME SUGGESTS --
THE PANHELLENIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT -- IS A "SOCIALIST"
PARTY. BUT ITS OWN PECULIER BRAND OF SOCIALISM IS DIFFI-
CULT TO DEFINE. PAPANDREOU IS PERFECTLY CLEAR ON ONE
THING -- HE DOES NOT LEAD A EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTY, FOR WHICH HE EXPRESSES CONTEMPT AND DISTRUST.

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8. THE PARTY AIMS AT "SOCIALIZATION" OF ALL MAJOR ECONO-
MIC ACTIVITIES IN GREECE WHILE PROMISING TO STRENGTHEN
THE POSITION OF SMALLER RURAL AND URBAN ENTREPRENEURS --
A PROMISE PAPANDREOU MUST MAKE IN THIS NATION OF SHOP-
KEEPERS AND SMALL LANDHOLDERS. THE PRECISE NATURE OF
"SOCIALIZATION" PAPANDREOU PRESCRIBES REMAINS UNCLEAR--

RECENTLY PAPANDREOU SPOKE WITH ENTHUSIASM ABOUT YUGOSLAV WORKER MANAGEMENT JUST AS IN THE PAST HE Praised "ARAB SOCIALISM." WHATEVER THE MODEL, IN PRACTICE PAPANDREOU'S SOCIALISM WOULD VASTLY INCREASE THE STATE'S ALREADY LARGE ROLE IN THE GREEK ECONOMY, VIRTUALLY ELIMINATING GREEK ECONOMIC PLURALISM.

9. FIRM CHAUVINISM: PASOK AND PAPANDREOU ARE NATIONALISTIC TO THE POINT OF CHAUVINISM. WRAPPED IN THE MOST TRITE AND VAPID SLOGANS OF THE THIRD WORLD, PASOK'S NATIONALISM IS EMOTIONALLY APPEALING TO THIS HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC NATION. ODDLY, ONE OF THE LEAST GREEK AND MOST AMERICAN ASPECTS OF PAPANDREOU'S POLITICS IS HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE U.S. HIS ANTI-AMERICANISM IS SYSTEMATIC, WHERE THE NORMAL GREEK VARIETY IS EMOTIONAL AND SUPERFICIAL. HIS ANTI-AMERICANISM IS LINKED WITH A PROFESSED BELIEF THAT GREECE CAN BE TRULY "INDEPENDENT". MOST GREEKS FIND THE CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE IMPLAUSIBLE, STEEPED AS THEY ARE BOTH IN A SOCIETY WHICH IS BUILT ON PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS, AND TRADITION WHICH ADVANCED GREEK CAUSES BY APPRENTICING THE NATION TO A SUCCESSION OF FOREIGN PATRONS.

10. PAPANDREOU'S ANTI-AMERICANISM IS SO VIRULENT AS TO BE ALMOST INEXPLICABLE. AFTER ALL, HE IS A FORMER AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO NOT ONLY WAS EDUCATED IN THE U.S. BUT ALSO WAS A GREAT ACADEMIC SUCCESS AS AN ECONOMIST. THE U.S. TREATED HIM GENEROUSLY AND HE RESPONDED ENTHUSIASTICALLY, JUDGING BY HIS SHEDDING OF HIS GREEK WIFE TO MARRY AN AMERICAN AND HIS LATER EFFORTS TO HOLD ON TO CONFIDENTIAL

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HIS U.S. CITIZENSHIP WHEN HE RETURNED TO GREECE TO STAY IN 1961. EXPLANATIONS OF HIS ANTI-AMERICAN VITUPERATION, BASED ON A DAMASCUS ROAD CONVERSION TO THIRD WORLD IDEOLOGY OR ON HIS NEED TO ESCAPE THE PERSISTENT GREEK CONVICTION THAT HE IS A CIA AGENT, SEEM UNSATISFACTORY. IT IS SOMETIMES SAID BY HIS MANY FORMER FRIENDS THAT PAPANDREOU IS MORE A CASE FOR PSYCHIATRIC THAN POLITICAL ANALYSIS. WE CAN SPECULATE ON THE ORIGIN OF PAPANDREOU'S REJECTION OF AMERICA. WE CAN EVEN HOLD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ATHENS 2390

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ONE DAY THIS MERCURIAL MAN MAY RECONSIDER HIS ATTITUDES.
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BUT TODAY THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS TOTAL OPPO-
SITION TO OUR INTERESTS IN GREECE.

11. A NEW MODERATION?: IN RECENT MONTHS, PAPANDREOU
HAS SOUGHT WITH SUCCESS TO CONVINCE MUCH OF THE GREEK
POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT THAT HE IS MOVING AWAY FROM EX-
TREMIST DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATIONS. WE
WOULD WELCOME SUCH A JOG IN HIS LINE. HOWEVER, HIS ALLEGED

MODERATION SEEMS TO BE MORE A MATTER OF STYLE
AND PERCEPTION THAN OF SUBSTANCE. ON THE PUBLIC RECORD,
FOR EXAMPLE, PAPANDREOU STILL:

- OPPOSES ANY GREEK RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO;
- IS AGAINST FULL GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, ADVOCATING INSTEAD WHAT
HE CALLS A NORWEGIAN STYLE ASSOCIATION OR
SPECIAL TRADING ARRANGEMENT;
- DEMANDS THE EVENTUAL REMOVAL OF ALL U.S. MILI-
TARY BASES FROM GREECE;
- REMAINS COMMITTED TO AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM OF
"SOCIALIZATION";
- SUPPORTS THE REJECTIONIST ARABS.

12. AS OPPOSED TO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE, PAPANDREOU HAS
CREATED AN IMPRESSION OF MODERATION BY;

- IMPOSING DISCIPLINE ON HIS POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE
PARLIAMENTARY GROUP AND GENERALLY BEHAVING RE-
SPONSIBLY IN PARLIAMENT. HOWEVER, GIVEN
PAPANDREOU'S INTEREST IN KEEPING THE SYSTEM
GOING, IT HARDLY SEEMS HE COULD HAVE BEHAVED
OTHERWISE.
- SUGGESTING THAT IN APPLYING HIS FOREIGN POLICY
HE WILL BE "REALISTIC," A TERM WHICH HE KNOWS

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INEVITABLY SUGGESTS TO HIS GREEK AUDITORS THAT
HE WILL NOT TOTALLY OR RAPIDLY INTERRUPT GREECE'S
DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND THE WEST.
HOWEVER, HE HAS CONTINUED TO HAMMER AWAY AGAINST
NATO, THE WEST, AND THE US.

--EXUDING REASON AND MEASURE IN PRIVATE CONVERSA-
TIONS, CONVINCINGLY PROJECTING HIMSELF AS A
CLOSELY MODERATE. HOWEVER, PAPANDREOU HAS AL-
WAYS HAD THE SUCCESSFUL POLITICIAN'S KNACK OF
MAKING PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT HE SHARES THEIR VIEWS --
AN ABILITY HE HAS OVERPLAYED TO THE POINT THAT
SOME GREEKS VIEW HIM NOT SO MUCH AS A LIAR BUT
AS PROFOUNDLY UNSTABLE.

--SHARPENING HIS ATTACKS UPON THE MOSCOW-LINE
GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY AND UPON THE SOVIET UNION
FOR ITS POLICIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.
THESE ATTACKS HAVE BEEN WIDELY REPORTED, EVEN
IN THE RIGHT WING PRESS, AND SEEM TO BE ACCOMPLISH-
ING PAPANDREOU'S GOAL OF PUTTING CLEAR GROUND
BETWEEN HIS POSITION AND THAT OF THE COMMUNISTS
AS HE SEEKS ESPECIALLY TO NEUTRALIZE MILITARY
OBJECTIONS TO HIS PERSON.

--MOVING MORE ACTIVELY ONTO THE INTERNATIONAL

STAGE, PROJECTING THE IMAGE OF AN ACCEPTED STATESMAN. HIS VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA TO MEET WITH TITO WAS ONLY THE FIRST OF SEVERAL PLANNED TRIPS WHICH ARE AIMED AT FURTHER ESTABLISHING HIS CREDENTIALS AS A STATESMAN.

13. IF IT COULD BE ESTABLISHED THAT PAPANDREOU REALLY BELIEVED MOST OF THE RADICAL THINGS HE HAS SAID IN THE PAST, THE ELEMENTS OF TRUE POLITICAL DRAMA WOULD SURELY BE COMPLETE -- AS AN UNDOUBTEDLY STRONG LEADER PITTED HIS LEFTIST IDEOLOGY AGAINST A CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL
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SYSTEM. ON THE BASIS OF HIS OPPORTUNISTIC RECORD, HOWEVER, THE QUESTION FOR MANY GREEK SEEMS TO BE MORE WHAT ELEMENTS OF HIS PROGRAM HE WILL BE WILLING TO COMPROMISE AS HE SEEKS BROADER SUPPORT. PAPANDREOU IS QUITE CAPABLE OF GIVING THE APPEARANCE OF MODERATION, BUT HOWEVER HE MOVES, THE ENDURING QUESTION WILL REMAIN AS TO HIS SINCERITY. AND THOUGH IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHAT THIS UNUSUAL MAN REALLY BELIEVES, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT IN HIS PRESENT INCARNATION HE IS A DEDICATED OPPONENT TO U.S. INTERESTS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.
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